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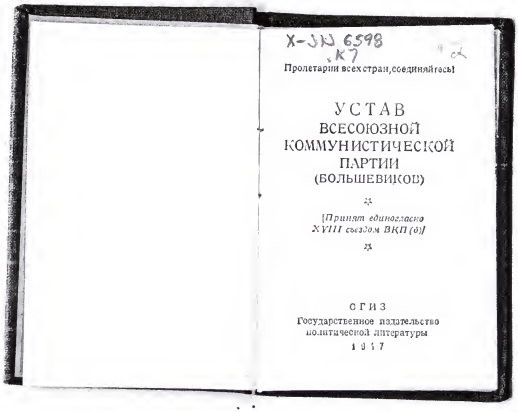

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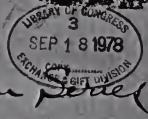

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The Agenda of the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia.

The XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia will be held on the 15th December in Moscow with the following agenda:

1. Political Report of the Central Committee.
2. Organisatory Report of the Central Committee.
3. Report of the Central Standing Orders Committee.
4. Report of the Central Control Commission.
5. Report of the members of the C. P. of Russia in the Executive of the Comintern.
6. Actual Questions as to Economic Construction.
7. Tasks of the Trade Unions.
8. The activity of the Young Communist League.
9. Alterations in the Party Statutes.
10. Election of the Central authorities.

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New Wars Are Being Prepared Under the Mask of Pacifism.

The present period can be characterised as one of a fresh attempt to consolidate imperialism under the mask of pacifism. This attempt is dictated on the one hand, by the extremely straitened financial situation of the most important imperialist countries of Europe, on the other hand by America's attempts to have her debts in Europe paid more or less punctually, further by the fear of new wars which prevails among the peoples, but also by the unsuccessful endeavours of last year to ensure the rule of imperialism by the method of direct military action (occupation of the Ruhr, Morocco, Syria, events in China, anti-Soviet Bloc etc.).

I believe that the task of the day for the Communist International and the revolutionary trade unions is to reveal the danger inherent just in this pacifism, for under the mask of pacifism, new wars have been and are being prepared.

A voice recently appeared in the papers on "Red Imperialism". This theme was first brought up by Kautsky, who invented "the danger which threatens from Red imperialism". This idea now crops up from time to time in other foreign newspapers. We must combat this stupid calumny with all the means in our power. It must be pointed out that as long ago as at Genoa, the Soviet Republic was the first country to propose the only possible plan for the complete disarmament of all states, and the same in 1922 in the negotiations with our Baltic neighbours. Every worker within and without the Soviet Union should thoroughly understand that our Party is absolutely in favour of disarmament, that the Soviet Government will be the first to declare itself prepared to dissolve the armed forces of our country and to destroy our whole war industry, on the one and only condition that other countries do the same.

I recall a conversation I had with Lenin about peace and disarmament in which, in referring to some international conference or other, he said that the bourgeois governments are making all kinds of hocus pocus in the questions of disarmament and of limiting the construction of large and small warships, and that by such measures they will deceive one another and the workers.

"Is it not better", said Lenin, "to propose the limitation of military expenses on the condition that there be a real, genuine and objective control as to whether these limitations are observed? In carrying out this control, the workers ought to participate to such an extent as to guarantee that the classes which are interested in war cannot practice deception in this connection."

If such measures are proposed for disarmament and the limitation of armaments in Europe, the Soviet Union will be the first to support and defend constantly such an initiative.

It would be stupid to mince words to believe that the economic stabilisation and a so-called "political pacification" of the bourgeois countries would solve the questions of vital interest to capitalism. Capitalism is, it is true stronger to-day than it was in 1920/21 in the period of the most serious crisis — in the period of the most radical revolutionary movement of the working class in a number of countries. The stabilisation in itself is transitory. The whole period of stabilisation will be accompanied by crises of varying intensity, by crises which the Labour movement in the West must make use of in order to organise the revolutionary forces, to prepare itself for the period when further attempts to stabilise capital will prove impossible.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Opening of the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia.

Moscow, 18th December 1925.

Today there was opened in the Kremlin the XIV. Party Conference of the Communist Party of Russia. There are present 81 delegates with decisive and 602 delegates with advisory votes, representing 591,000 members and 433,000 candidates, as compared with a total of 736,000 members and candidates at the XIII. Party Conference.

Comrade Rykov opened the Party Conference in the name of the Central Committee. In his speech of welcome he made reference to the enormous advance in the work of construction since the last Party Conference, which has contributed to a further strengthening of the sympathies of the workers of all countries for the Soviet Union, this centre of socialist construction, this stronghold of the international proletariat and symbol of the emancipation of the suppressed peoples. On the basis of a rapidly progressing process of reconstruction, the political activity of the working and peasant masses has greatly increased, which in turn is helping the Party to overcome all the obstacles in the way of State administration. These hindrances are not in the last resort to be attributed to the lack of experience in the systematic leadership of the economic life of the country, to the imperfect solution of complicated economic questions, but the errors connected with this, as for example in the collection of corn and in the working out of industrial plans, are only partial failures which do not cause any change in the general growth of the Soviet economy. It is true that the rate of development of the national economy has proved somewhat slow in comparison with the optimistic expectations, yet this pace suffices in order to continue greatly to strengthen the socialist elements of the Soviet economy.

The question of the relations of the working class to the peasantry and the question of the extension of the co-operative system remain cardinal questions. The decisions of the XIV. national Conference regarding these questions and of the Plenary Sitting of the Central Committee have proved to be fully justified. Since the XIII. Party Conference the Party has passed through the disussion against Trotzkyism, which was one of the most serious periods in the life of the Party since the death of Lenin. On this occasion the Party displayed the greatest unanimity and determination. The present Party Conference will investigate another group of questions which arise from the process of our economic construction. The Party has proved itself worthy of its teacher, it has not only kept pace with events, but has even proved itself to be in advance of them. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Thereupon the Conference unanimously elected the 47 members of the Presidium. These include: Comrades Stalin, Rykov, Bucharin, Tomsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotzky, Kalinin, Dzerzhinsky, Molotov, Voroshilov, Krupskaya.

The agenda of the Party Conference is as follows: 1. Political report of the Central Committee. 2. Organisatory report of the Central Committee. 3. Report of the Revision Commission. 4. Report of the Central Control Commission. 5. Report of the representatives of the C.P.R. in the E.C.C.I. 6. Actual questions of economic construction. 7. Tasks of the trade unions. 8. Work of the Communist Youth. 9. Proposed amendments to the Party Statutes. 10. Election of the Central institutions of the Party.

Thereupon Comrade Stalin, who was greeted with long and enthusiastic applause, rose to deliver the political report of the Central Committee.

* * *

Today's leading article of the "Pravda" welcomes the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. R. and characterises the situation in which the Party Conference meets, as follows:

On the one hand there is an indisputable general growth in the economic life, a strengthening of socialist industry, increase of the state budget etc.; on the other hand, at the present moment specific difficulties have cropped up, particularly in connection with the miscalculation as to the amount estimated to be yielded by the collection of corn. In the background of the present economic development there is taking place a redistribution of class forces. Hence it is natural that the Party cannot undertake to draw the balance of the work accomplished and to outline the perspectives of the near future without a certain amount of inner friction.

In connection with the tremendously rapid development of Soviet economy the question of the relations of the working class to the peasantry has assumed new features. The two discussions against Trotzkyism were, as a matter of fact, discussions on the important peasant policy. In these discussions the Party unanimously maintained the Leninist position, and, for example, precisely the correct solution of the policy of prices as regards industrial products has secured the successful economic development, the further course of which now confronts the Party with fresh tasks in the solution of the peasant question. In spite of the phenomenal growth of industry it cannot completely meet the increased demand.

Further, as a result of the economic strengthening of the country the active interest has increased from the proletariat to the peasantry, up to the bourgeoisie. Within the peasantry there is ripening a process of differentiation and the

command that any insurgents captured should be simply shot down without a trial.

Before he went out to Syria, in order to restore order, De Jouvenel spent some time in London, where he had long conferences with the creator of Locarno, Sir Austen Chamberlain. According to reliable newspaper reports, the Southern portion of Syria is, after the suppression of the revolt, to be added to the British mandatory territory in Palestine.

In Iraq also, in spite of the Peace Pact of Locarno, there still prevails unrest. It is becoming ever clearer that the Mosul question cannot be separated from the question of the national independence of the Arabs of Iraq. Up to a few months ago the French press published flaming articles against "English imperialism", which wished to deprive the Turks of Mosul. Since then it has become quite quiet. There is not only talk now of France casting her vote in the League of Nations in favour of England, but there are also persistent rumours of a military co-operation between England and France for the defence of Mosul.

France and Italy are refraining from intervening in any way in the negotiations between the English and Ib Saoud.

Under such circumstances it is quite understandable that the Locarno Pact is not being received with any great enthusiasm in Egypt, Syria etc. In this respect the few facts here given constitute only a commencement. The "effects" are yet to come.

THE XIV. PARTY CONFERENCE OF THE C. P. OF RUSSIA

Resolution adopted at the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia on the Political and Organisatory Reports of the C. C.

Moscow, 23rd December 1925.

The Party Conference, after a debate lasting three days and after the concluding speeches of comrades Zinoviev and the speakers on behalf of the Central Committee, comrades Molotov and Stalin, adopted by 559 votes against 65, with 41 abstentions, the following resolution approving the policy of the Central Committee.

The Party Conference, fully approves the political and organisatory line of the C. C., which strengthened the Party of the working class, promoted the general advance of the national economy throughout the whole country and consolidated the positions of Socialism within and without the Soviet Union.

This policy has resulted in the international spere in a number of fresh recognitions of the Soviet Union by the capitalist countries; the Soviet Union concluded fresh commercial and concession treaties, extended its foreign trade and consolidated its international position. The same policy has resulted, in domestic affairs, in the Soviet Union being in a position to balance the State budget and rapidly to bring about the development of industry and the further growth of agriculture, along with a general increase in wages and a greater output on the part of the workers; to raise production nearly to the pre-war level and to secure a growing role for the socialist elements in the entire Soviet economy. Thanks to the same policy the Soviet Union has consolidated the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and secured the proletarian leadership of this alliance, increased the actual role and importance of the co-operatives, brought together, upon the basis of socialist construction, broad sections of technical and other intellectuals under the leadership of the proletariat, and consolidated the community of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

In recording these successes the Party Conference notes at the same time the errors which have been committed as regards the collection of corn and of foreign trade, which endangered the stability of the valuta and brought about an adverse foreign trade balance, whilst a favourable trade balance is a precondition for further economic growth. The Party Conference approves of the decisions adopted by the C. C. in November for the rectification of these errors and instructs the C. C. to strengthen the leadership of the peoples' Commissariat for economics in order to avoid such errorrs in the future.

The Party is now beginning to work under new international and domestic conditions. In the sphere of foreign political relations the maintenance and prolongation of the breathing space, which has become a period of so-called peaceable relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries, is to be recorded, in spite of the fact that the antagonisms between these two camps are becoming not weaker but more acute. This breathing space furnished the possibility of inner reconstruction and, as a result of the economic relations with foreign countries, brings certain advantages tending to expedite this reconstruction. On the other hand, as a result of the strengthening of connections between the Soviet economy and world capitalism, the former's dependence upon the latter has increased, a fact which brings with it a number of fresh dangers, which must be taken into account by the Party in the struggle for Socialism and in securing the necessary economic independence of the Soviet country.

Within the capitalist countries there must be recorded a partial stabilisation of capitalism and a relative strengthening of the political power of the European bourgeoisie. The role of the United States of America has increased enormously, and almost amounts to linancial world hegemony. Further, there must be recorded: the gradual decline of the British Empire as a world power, the antagonisms between the victor and vanquished states, the antagonisms between Europe and America, the undermining of the whole system of imperialism on the part of the awakening colonial and semi-colonial peoples, whose movements in some places, has assumed the form of a national war for freedom and has reached unexampled dimensions, and finally, the growth of new forms of the European labour movement, in close connection with the proletariat of the Soviet Union (fight for trade union unity, workers' delegations to the Soviet Union etc.).

The relative stabilisation of Europe and its "pacification" under the hegemony of Anglo-American capital has called into life a whole system of economic and political blocs, the last of which are the Locarno Conference and the Guarantee Treaties directed against the Soviet Union. These Blocs and Treaties, which are screened by the alleged pacifist League of Nations and by the false talk of disarmament of the Second International, mean, in essence, nothing else than a new grouping of forces for a fresh war. Against these blocs of the capitalist countries under Anglo-American hegemony, which are accompanied by an enormous increase in armaments and therefore bear within them fresh dangers of war, among them being the danger of an anti-Soviet intervention, there is growing up the apprehension of the proletariat of the advanced countries for the proletariat of the Soviet Union under the slogans of the fight for peace, against all new imperialist wars and against armed attacks on the Soviet Union.

Upon the basis of this estimation of the international situation the Party Conference instructs the C. C. to be guided in its policy by the following principles:

1. To consolidate in every possible way the alliance of the proletariat of the Soviet Union, as the basis of world revolution, with the West. European proletariat and the suppressed peoples, and to keep to the line of the development and the victory of the international proletarian revolution.

2. To conduct a peaceful policy, which shall stand in the centre of the entire foreign policy of the Soviet government and underlie all its international actions.

3. To carry on the work of economic construction from such a point of view, that the Soviet Union is converted from a country which imports machines to a country which produces machines, in order that by this means the Soviet Union with its capitalist encirclement shall not become an economic appendage of the capitalist world economy, but an independent economic unit which is building up Socialism and which, thanks to its economic construction, can become a powerful means for the revolutionising of the workers of all countries and of the suppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies.

4. As far as possible, to accumulate economic reserves which can secure the country against all accidents affecting the home and the foreign markets.

5. To adopt every measure for strengthening the defensive forces of the country and for strengthening the Red Army and the Red Navy and Air Fleet.

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HANDS OFF CHINA

Telegram of Greetings from the XIV. Party Conference of the R. C. P. to the Kuomintang.

At its session held on 26th December, the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia decided to send the following telegram to the Presidium of the Second All-Chinese Congress of the Kuomintang:

"The XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia sends its brotherly greetings to the Second Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party, the 'Kuomintang'. In the Congress of the Kuomintang we greet the many million people of China who have taken up the struggle for their emancipation from the yoke of imperialism and by their blood sacrifices have won the right to free development and existence.

To our Party has fallen the proud and historical role of leading the first victorious proletarian revolution of the world on the territory of the former Russian Tsarist Empire, the bulwark of world counter revolution. We are proud and happy in having destroyed this bulwark and converted it into the Soviet Union, into the bulwark of the emancipation movement of the workers and suppressed of the world.

We are convinced that the Kuomintang Party will succeed in playing the same role in the East and thereby destroy the foundation of the rule of the imperialists in Asia. We are fully convinced that this task can only be carried out with success if the Kuomintang strengthens the alliance of the working class and the peasantry of China in the present struggle, and allows itself to be guided by the interests of these fundamental forces of the revolution, and if the Kuomintang at the same time supports every opposition movement which is directed against the yoke of world capitalism and in support of the intellectual and economic emancipation of the working masses.

The Presidium of the
XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia."

International Press Correspondence, June 7, 1976, p. 4

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The XIV. Party Congress of the Communist Party of Russia.

Reports of Comrades Stalin and Molotov. — Co-Report of Comrade Zinoviev. — First Speaker in the Discussion Comrade Bucharin.

Political Report of the Central Committee.

Speaker Comrade Stalin.

(Special telegraphic report to the "Inprecor".)

Comrade Stalin, in his five hours' political report, spoke on behalf of the Central Committee of the Russia C. P. as follows:

The International Situation.

Firstly, with regard to the political situation: The decisive factor of the international situation as affecting the Soviet Union is the attainment of a certain provisional equilibrium of forces between our country of socialist constructions and the capitalist countries. The capitalist world is no longer powerful enough to suppress the country of the Soviets, and the immediate result is a description of peaceful relation between the Soviet Union and the bourgeois world. This is to be attributed to the inner weakness of world capitalism, to the growth of the revolutionary labour movement in general, and to the increasing strength of the Soviet Republics in particular.

Antagonism of World Capitalism.

The weakness of the capitalist world is due to five antagonisms inevitably inherent in capitalism: 1. The antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the bourgeois countries; 2. The antagonism between imperialism and the emancipation movement in the colonies and dependent countries; 3. The antagonism between the victorious and the vanquished countries; 4. The antagonism between the victorious countries themselves; 5. The antagonism between our Soviet country and the capitalist countries.

With regard to the first of these antagonisms, capitalism is at the present time in a state which we may call a partial and provisional stabilisation, that is, a state in which the chaos in production and finance is less acute than during the post-war crisis, a state of relative strengthening of the political power of the bourgeoisie.

This may be seen from the statistical material referring to the production of the capitalist countries, which has almost or completely attained the pre-war level. The majority of the States have succeeded in balancing their budgets in one way or another, but with the aid of a terrific increase in the burden of taxation imposed upon the working population. The high tide of revolution which rose during the post-war crisis has ebbed again all over Europe. The question of the seizure of power is not a

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Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to All Sections of the Comintern.

Moscow, 13th. January 1926.

The Central Comittee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has sent to all sections of the Comintern the following information letter on the results of the XIV. Party Conference:

In view of the special interest which is to be observed among our brother parties with regard to the discussion that has taken place in our Party, and in view of the fact that the attitude of the opposition in the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Republics has naturally aroused great concern among the proletarians and Communists of the whole world, and finally, in view of the fact that the social democratic and bourgeois press are exaggerating our discussion in every possible way and systematically distorting the true state of affairs, the C. C. of the C. P. of the USSR. has decided, through the medium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, to send this letter of information to all the sections of the Comintern.

The situation in which the differences of opinion in our Party have arisen consists in the tremendously rapid growth of the economy of the Soviet Union and in the extreme complexity of the tasks confronting the C. P. The foreign comrades must clearly bear in mind that with us, under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship, not only the entire attitude to the every day political questions is changing (for we are exercising the power which we have captured for the purpose of developing socialist construction, while our brother parties have still to pass through the revolutionary fight for power), but all our concrete tasks are becoming extremely complicated. Every word, every decision of the Party must mean a deed. Only thus can and must a Party work which is leading a victorious proletariat.

The past year was a year of great economic growth. The industrial and agricultural production almost reached the pre-war level. The socialist economic elements have developed very considerably and their specific weight has increased. On the other hand the contradictory transition character of our society, when the majority of the population consists of peasants, inevitably finds expression in that, along with the development of socialist economic forms, the elements of capitalism, particularly in the sphere of commercial capital, and in the country in the form of the so-called kulak-undertakings have grown stronger, even if not to the same extent. The sharpening of the social contradictions in the present state of development of relations, when in the village there exist a great number of superfluous peasant workers and in the town there exists unemployment and sections of semi-skilled workers who are still badly paid, which is especially the case with those who have come from the villages, confronts the Party with the question of the concrete path of development of the Soviet country to socialism.

The retardation of the international revolution and the relative stabilisation of capitalism on the one side, and the strengthening of the class antagonism within the country on the other side, have created in the Party a certain feeling of depression. This mood has obtained a certain ideological form as a result of several assertions put forward by the opposition, and have become the object of differences of opinion.

They deal with the question of the possibility of socialist construction in one country, in spite of the technical backwardness of our country! Connected with this is the

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The XIV. Party Congress of the Communist Party of Russia.

Discussion on the Political and Organisatory Reports and Concluding Speeches of Comrades Zinoviev (Co-Reporter), Stalin and Molotov (Reporters) of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Russia.

Continuation of the Discussion on the Political and Organisatory Report of the Central Committee.

After Bucharin, the next speaker was **Rutin.** In his opinion Zinoviev makes no concrete proposals. There is not a single member who overlooks the kulak danger, but we see it as it really is, and not in an exaggerated light.

Comrade **Postischov** pointed out the impermissibility of allowing a co-report to be given in the present situation.

The next speaker, comrade Krupskaja, declared: Kamenev was right in saying that the course of the Party is directed towards the rich peasantry. The poverty among the peasantry is the result of our backwardness, and therefore the whole of the Party forces must be concentrated on overcoming this backwardness. This policy was rightly determined. Bucharin's slogan of: „enrich yourselves" is faulty, for it can be applied to the middle and rich peasantry as well as to the poor. The speaker declared herself not in agreement with the policy of extending the NEP in the village. The successes of industry have led to an over-estimation of the economic situation. The same over-estimation may be observed with respect to the state apparatus. The present growing activity of the proletariat must be directed towards rendering state industry completely socialist.

Comrade Krupskaja concluded her speech with the declaration that there is no thought of a split, or of lack of confidence in the Central. It is solely a question of determining the confines of a collective consultation of constantly recurring questions.

The next speaker, **Petrovsky** (Ukraine) declared that the speakers from Leningrad had proposed no political programme. Zinoviev's co-report was delivered with the intention of showing that there existed some sort of vacillation in the Party. Comrade Krupskaja had been at fault in publishing an article directly asserting that the Central is pursuing a false policy, and demanding that our policy be altered into one of crushing the kulaks. There is no single organisation which sees a kulak deviation in the policy pursued by the C. C. The attitude taken by the Leningrad comrades is an insult to the Party.

The next speaker, **Polonsky**, declared that at the time of the Trotzky discussion the Party landed with the right foot in the petty bourgeois bog. The Central dragged it out of the bog again. And now Zinoviev thrusts the left foot of the Party into the bog. Doubtless the Central will again prove powerful enough to prevent this. The Leningrad delegation must not be confused with the Leningrad organisation or the Leningrad working class.

Comrade **Laschevitsch** maintained that no collective leadership exists in the Party. Uglanov was wrong in declaring at the Moscow Conference that our task consists in continuing the

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The XIV. Party Congress of the Communist Party of Russia.

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Resolution on the Activities of the Delegation of the C. P. of Russia in the E. C. C. I.
Speech of Comrade Clara Zetkin as Fraternal Delegate.
Election of the New Executive.
Declarations Regarding Comrade Mazlov's Conduct at this Trial.
Constitution of the New Central Committee.

Report by Comrade Kuibischev on the Activity of the Central Control Commission.

At the meeting on December 25th,

Comrade Kuibischev

gave a report on the activities of the Central Control Commission (C. C. C.).

The speaker at first declared that the C. C. C. entirely shares the point of view of the Central Committee. The C. C. C. tried to remove the differences of opinion between the majority and the opposition without bringing them before the Party Conference. When Comrade Krupskaja as a member of the C. C. C. signed the so-called "platform of four", the Presidium of the C. C. C. considered it necessary to address a letter to the C. C. C. in which the Presidium of the C. C. C. stated that it agreed with the majority of the C. C. C. and regarded the discussion of these questions as inadmissible.

In questions regarding the practical work of the C. C. C. the following tasks are on the agenda: the growing political activity of the working class and of the groups of the peasantry which are allied to it, creates the preliminary condition for including these masses in the reconstruction of the State.

The C. C. C. and its organs must establish a particularly close contact with the trade union organisations and production committees, with the economic commissions in the Soviet institutions, with the conferences of delegates of women workers etc.

An important task of the C. C. C. and of the inspectors of workers and peasants is that of active cooperation with the corresponding bodies of the Party and the Soviets for the choice of functionaries in the bodies for national economy and State administration. In connection with the organisation of the State apparatus with regard to actually satisfying the needs of the workers and peasants, the question of promoting the workers and peasants to responsible posts is of tremendous importance.

The campaign against bureaucratism and red-tapism must not cease for a moment, and for this purpose the Press of the workers and peasants must be made use of. For the rationalisation of the systems of economics and administration all the creative forces of the working class must be called into service.

In order to maintain the unity of the Party and to improve the quality of the membership, the control commissions must be backed by the broad membership. In this respect, the educational work of the Party must take the first place. With regard to the admission of new members, the resolutions of the 13th Party Congress must be strictly observed. The most important task for the next period of activity of all Party organisations is that of carrying out the Party resolutions with regard to work in the villages.

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The Agenda of the XV. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U.

Moscow, 17th November 1927.

The XV. Party Congress of the C. P. of the Soviet Union has been convened for the 1st December in Moscow. The agenda contains the following points:

1. Political and organisational report of the C. C.
2. Report of the central revision committee.
3. Report of the central control commission.
4. Report of the delegation of the C. P. of the S. U. to the Cominfern.
5. Directives for the economic plan for the next five years.
6. The work in the village and
7. The election of the central party bodies.

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Lenin did not confine himself to words but proceeded determinedly with the practical realisation of these important tasks. Then, on April 14th, a correspondence from Kamenino was published in the "Pravda", mentioning that "in nearly all the factories a workers' militia had been created by the administration". Lenin immediately welcomed the introduction of a workers' militia, to be paid by the capitalists, which would have "a most decisive practical and profound significance". This fact was presented by Leninas an example for all other workers.

* * *

The Red Guard was a child of the Bolsheviki. They played the leading role in it from the very beginning, they took measures to bring about its unification.

It is true, that for a time there existed in Petrograd a provisional commission of the Red Guard, consisting of two Bolsheviki and three Mensheviki. These Mensheviki were, however, shy and naive people, who were soon disavowed by their party and withdrawn from the work.

What was the attitude of the Menshevik Party to the Red Guard?

At a big meeting of delegates of the Red Guard of Petrograd, held on April 28th, the representative of the executive committee of the Soviet, the Menshevik Judin, spoke resolutely against the Red Guard, declared it to be injurious and unnecessary and demanded its disbandment.

* * *

This attitude of the responsible Mensheviki corresponded exactly with their general views and tactics; it was just the continuation of the line of action taken by this party right from the beginning.

* * *

The turning point in the development of the Red Guard was the Kornilov coup d'Etat. The workers fully recognised the necessity of organising and developing their armed forces. On September 2nd the Bolshevist paper "Social Democrat" reported that delegates from the factories and works had approached the Soviet of the Workers Deputies and demanded the distribution of arms.

In this period also falls the elaboration of the new statutes for the Red Guard, determining its aims and tasks as also its internal organisation and structure. The Red Guard steadily grew to be the military weapon of the maturing proletarian State.

The education of the Red Guardists was carried on intensively, and, according to those who participated therein, the members showed more success and zeal than did the soldiers of the Tsarist Army. At the same time, the military training projected by Lenin was not neglected. Arms were gathered together by every possible means; preparations for the inevitable fight proceeded apace.

When the insurrection began, the workers swarmed to the Red Guard. In the Wyborg district alone there were 1000 Red Guardists. In those days the masses displayed extraordinary self-activity.

One point deserves particular attention. While the Bolsheviki in Leningrad acted with resolution and conviction, forming a revolutionary military committee exclusively of Bolshevists without bothering about the parties favouring compromise, nominating their commissaries for the divisions of troops, etc., affairs in Moscow showed a very different aspect. During the months immediately preceding the October revolution, an opportunist attitude in the matter of organising the armed rebellion and the leadership of the Red Guards was shown by a number of prominent comrades. These comrades, among whom Comrade Muralov played an important role, were doubtlessly influenced by the conception held by the more or less left-wing Mensheviki concerning the Russian revolution, which at that time was resolutely and vehemently defended only by Comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev.

For this reason it happened that after the Kornilov coup d'Etat the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies organised the general staff of the Red Guard, to which, in addition to Bolsheviki, S. R's, and Mensheviki were elected. These parties were also allotted seats on the Military Revolutionary Committee. However, from the beginning of the February Revolution there existed a central staff of the Red Guard led by the Bolshevists and having the closest communication with all the divisions of the Red Guard.

This staff, which had not been dissolved, got into the most awkward position. Furthermore, the vacillating portion of the Moscow committee took measures to make the chief staff (with the Mensheviki and S. R.) the command of the Red Guard. Indeed, three days before the revolution, a proposal was made on November 4th in the Moscow committee to liquidate the central staff, and a second to liquidate the War Commission and the commission for the work of the Red Guard on the Moscow Committee. This proposal meant neither more nor less than self-disarmament. It is a fact that the majority of the Moscow Committee were not in favour of the motion, but through the compromise many persons left the group of waverers and joined the Central Staff.

The October events in Moscow are well known. Owing to the numerous mistakes, unnecessary sacrifices were made, and the success of the revolution was jeopardised. As Comrade Bukharin once rightly remarked, this course of events was due to many objective facts. But to us must be clear the conclusion that under such circumstances, if we have various unfavourable objective premises, the comrades who did not grasp the true character of the prospective revolution and submitted to the influence of Kamenev and Zinoviev and failed to comprehend the counter-revolutionary character of the parties disposed to compromise, were for that reason all the poorer as leaders.

The Discussion before the XV. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U.

The Discussion Preceding the XV. Party Congress.

By L. B.

The discussions which precede the 15th Party Congress were started in the Press of the C. P. S. U. on October 30th. Three extensive discussion sheets have hitherto been published in the "Pravda", the central organ of the C. P. S. U. The first two sheets chiefly contain speeches delivered by various comrades on former occasions (from the minutes of the October Plenary Meeting of the C. C. and the C. C. C.). Comrade Stalin's speech has already been published verbatim in the "Inprecor." With regard to the other contents of the "two discussion papers" mentioned above, we should like to point out an article by Comrade Kollontai, Comrade Kollontai, who was formerly, in Lenin's time, one of the woman leaders of the "Labour Opposition" and a passionate opponent of the policy of the Party, is now vehemently combating the Opposition. (Published in "Inprecor" No. 64.)

The actual discussion was opened in the discussion paper No. 3 of November 5th with the publication of the theses of the Opposition on activity in the village. From now onwards we shall publish exact — although short — reports of the contents of all contributions to the discussion numbers, the more important ones we shall publish in full.

Discussion Sheet No. 3.

In the theses on the activity in the village signed by Comrades Bakajev, Kamenev, Rakovsky, Ievdokimov, Muralov, Smilga, Zinoviev, Peterson, Trotzky, the Opposition developed

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THE DISCUSSION BEFORE THE XV. PARTY CONGRESS OF THE C. P. S. U.

The Discussion Supplements No. 4 and 5 of the "Pravda".

By L. B.

No. 4 of the discussion supplements, which appeared in the "Pravda" of November 15th, contains the continuation of Comrade Kuusinen's article, "The Present Historical Untrath", of Comrade Zinoviev, and four articles dealing with the counter-theses of the Opposition on the subject of work in the village: "The Demagogy of the Opposition in the Question of the Soviets" by K. Bauman, "The phantasies of the Opposition about the Peasants' Storage" by P. Kershenzev, "Nationalisation of the Land", by W. K. and "Taxation of the Village and the Opposition" by M. Lieschitz.

The discussion supplement No. 5 ("Pravda" of November 17th) contains the counter-theses of the "Trotskyist Opposition" with regard to the five years' plan of national economy and the following replies: "The Wire-brokers of the present Day (Their Counter-theses)" by Maretzky, "The Starting Point" by Goldenberg, "The Party's Policy in the Labour Question and Opositional Demagogy" by Dr. Kraval and "From where to obtain the Means" by W. Meshlauk. The content of the contributions may be briefly summarised as follows:

The "Counter-theses".

After some complaints about "the bureaucratic preparation of the Congress" and "the belated opening of the discussion" the "counter-theses of the Opposition with regard to the five years' plan of national economy begin with the assertion that the theses of the C.C. give no answer to the questions as to the direction in which unemployment, the increased demand for goods, the housing shortage will develop in the next few years, they give no answer to the question of "the rise of grain prices" which has undeniably set in, the difficulties in the obtaining of grain, the restriction of exports, the danger of a reduction of the purchasing power of the public etc. "The theses of the C.C. speak of the necessity of combatting drunkenness in a general way but without making concrete suggestions; the theses of the C.C. are nothing more nor less than a collection of the highest wishes which are absolutely contradictory to the actual facts made up to the present; it would therefore not be surprising if the new drafts would suddenly assume a superficially characteristic appearance to be of little real avail as soon as the necessary growing sharpness to the pressure on the proletarian classes which is being practised, ..."

The writers of the theses forgot, that, in the present phase of development, every important economic question is a question of class war. The carrying out of the manifesto with the aid of the aforza of exerting pressure on the Kulaks and the resumption after two years delay of what is taken for granted in Party circles, a change in the policy of the Party would, in fact, be the Kulaks, the private capitalists and the bourgeois elements, economising together with numerous members not only of the State bureaucracy but also of the Party bureaucracy", which created the germs of a double power (!), which is preparing for the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to bring to light the Kulak danger (!), increase the taxation of incomes, to organise seriously the class war of the village poor against the Kulak. The pressure which is to be exerted on the NEP-man demands that the activity of the workers be roused, that all the organisations of the Party, trade unions and of the Party should be made really "mass" organisations. The quintessence of all this in the theses of the C.C. is the slogan "Eye to the left", issued by Stalin necessarily resulted in facilitating the union of the Right elements within the Party with the "Untralow elements" outside the Party, in the prospering Kulak and NEP-man who are driving the party leaders to servile accounts with the "Opposition". "The bourgeois capitalist elements" — maintains the Opposition — "are waiting with impatience until the Opposition will be annihilated, in order that the carrying out of their economic programme, the lasting loose of both the Kulak and the NEP-man, the union with foreign capital by abolishing the foreign trade monopoly will be easier."

In the declaration of the theses of the C.C. "the period entered upon is characterised by the growing class power of the proletariat, by the consolidation of its alliance with the masses of the poor and middle peasants, by the relative production — even though an absolute growth is still possible — of the private capitalist elements in the town and in the country". Its failing to see wrongly to be an "anniversary estimate", forgetting capitalism in the village is on the increase not only absolutely but also relatively, secondly, the growing pressure of the bourgeois elements does not coincide exactly with the economic statistics, thirdly, the forces of the capitalist encirclement should be taken into consideration, etc. etc.

If the "wrong" analysis of the proportion of forces" by the C.C. is lulling the activity and vigilance of the proletariat to sleep, "Under the present regime" the assault of the class enemies on the proletariat is beginning to rouse into activity the advanced strata of the latter. The fact that the Leningrad proletariat (?) took up an attitude of sympathy with the Opposition during the demonstration of October 17th, is evidence of this.

The theses fail to throw light on the present situation as the point of issue for the five years' plan. It is not true that the shortage of goods has been reduced. The apparent improvement in the first six months of 1926/27 is to be attributed to an artificial restriction of the demand for goods. In the second half of the economic year 1926/27 the shortage of goods, however, made itself felt with full intensity. The situation on the grain market is becoming worse in spite of three good harvests. The result is the destruction of the plan of exports (and with it of the plan of imports). The decisive causes of the difficulties are: the lack of goods (the backwardness of industry), the accumulation of stocks in the Kulaks (differentiation of the village), the improvident policy regarding the circulation of the currency (excessive issue of paper currency in connection with an insufficient carrying out of the revenue estimate).

5. In the five years before us, the "colossal deficit in industrial goods" will inevitably bring with it an increase of the price of corn of the agricultural upper strata, the differentiation of the village, difficulties in the food supply and in exports and — as a consequence of all these factors — an increased pressure on the foreign trade monopoly. The State Planning Commission wants to abolish the shortage of goods by increasing the "rent of workers' dwellings", by increasing direct taxation, above all the tax on spirits. It is high time to replace indirect by direct taxation.

6. The investment of capital in industry, according to the original five years' plan of the State Planning Commission (which has not been confirmed by the C.C.), by remains almost stable during the next five years (1,142 millions in 1927/28 and 1,220 millions in 1930/31)". As a matter of fact, the new figures make provisions for a much greater growth (from 1250 million to 1,588 millions), but on the one hand the Party is not informed of the real foundations of this higher calculation, on the other hand extremely small sums are assigned to industry from outside (see according to this plan).

Three different variants of the five years' plan consider a 26% to 33 per cent increase of nominal wages and an increase of real wages by 40 to 50 per cent. The present policy of the "shortage of goods", however, makes an increase of real wages very doubtful. Real wages are to-day only a little higher than in the autumn of 1925. The increase of wages is behind the increase of the productivity of labour. The position of the working class is inevitably rendered worse by rationalisation, because it is not accompanied by a development of industry etc. which could absorb the workers who are dismissed. The area for the building of dwellings is below that of the members of other classes and will be further reduced according to the variant of the State Planning Commission until 1931 with an investment of capital of 700 million roubles; according to the variant of the Supreme Economic Council, it will remain unchanged for the next five years with an investment of capital amounting to 1,2 milliard. Without regard to this question, the theses of the C.C. restrict themselves to mere wishes that the housing area for the workers should

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Zealand and Japan, before all, however, with the national-revolutionary and labour movement of China.

The Communist Party, by preparing the masses for a new attack upon British imperialism and for the fight for the national, independent Indonesian Republic, must at the same time educate and organise the masses to fight for the daily demands, such as amnesty for the political prisoners, withdrawal of the occupation army, freedom of combination etc., eight-hour day, abolition of the Dutch language as the official language etc.

THE DISCUSSION BEFORE THE XV. PARTY CONGRESS OF THE C. P. S. U.

The Discussion Supplement No. 6 of the "Pravda."*)

By L. B.

The discussion supplement No. 6 contains the third continuation of Comrade Kussinen's article, "Zinoviev's present historical 'Untruth' and an article by Comrade Artiuchina "On Work amongst the Women". Comrade Shliapnikov is carrying on a controversy against the line of action taken by the C. C. in a contribution bearing the title of: "The Lessons of the Struggle within the Party". Comrade W. Astrov, in his article "A Hopeless Attempt to take Revenge", deals with Comrade Shliapnikov's attacks and assertions. Comrade I. Dymshitz' article "A New Discovery made by the Opposition" deals with the question of how to organise the village poor. Comrade Jaroslavsky lays before the 15th Party Congress proposals with regard to the question of anti-religious propaganda in an article entitled "No Relaxation in the Struggle against the Influence of Religion". In conclusion, extracts from a number of practical suggestions made by various comrades with the object of supplementing the theses on the Five Years' Plan, are published.

* * *

In Comrade Shliapnikov's opinion, "the lessons of the struggle within the party" are that the "Labour Opposition" which as is a matter of common knowledge, was most vehemently combated by Lenin himself (at the 10th Party Congress Lenin even proposed Comrade Shliapnikov's exclusion from the Party) — that the "Labour Opposition" has proved to be in the right. Shliapnikov repeats the various accusations raised by the Trotzkyites against the inner party regime, but he is more candid and less hypocritical in his attacks than are the Trotzkyites. He does not maintain, as is being done by the latter, that the party leaders had deviated from Lenin's tradition. On the contrary, he follows that he condemns the course followed by the party leaders just because it does not deviate from the course advocated by Lenin at the 10th Party Congress of the C. P. S. U. For the rest, Comrade Shliapnikov's train of thought may be explained briefly as follows:

The inner Party struggle is a reflexion of the class struggle in the Soviet Union. The intensification of the class struggle in the last few years has led to an intensification of dissensions within the Party owing to the fact that the C. P. S. U. unites elements from all the social strata which exist in the country.

Peasant farming has reached the pre-war level in its development, and in some respects has even surpassed it, but the fact that State industry is not able to satisfy the requirements of the peasantry is an obstacle in the way of its further development. From this there results the pressure of the village on the "town" with regard to raw materials, corn and other foodstuffs. The slow development brings the village poor and the poor population of the towns, the rising generation of workers and the cadres of the unemployed into a hopeless position.

Ever since the 10th Party Congress the Labour Opposition has stood up for "the defence of State large industry" and has at the same time defended the interest of the working class and of their organisations in the widest meaning of the word. Even in 1920 and 1921 it pointed out that large industry was being neglected. The result of a policy of this kind is that even at the present moment coal mining, ore and metal industries have not reached the pre-war level.

The Labour Opposition has been accused of demagogy and of defending "craft interests" because of its fight "for a real and thorough improvement of the situation of the working class".

The fact that the wages of the metal workers amount on an average to only 83.4 per cent of their pre-war wages, that of the miners to 75.2 per cent of their pre-war wages proves how untenable were these accusations.

Anyone who states that the "innermost nucleus of the proletariat is materially, and consequently also morally oppressed" is accused of deviation to the Right; only he who glosses over this reality is regarded as a true member of the Left.

If is true that a Right deviation exists in the Party, but it is not represented by the Labour Opposition; its representatives are those members of the C. C. who issue slogans such as "enrich yourselves!" etc.

The C. C. is applying the method of the "mechanical suppression of those who differ from it in their views." The fight against the labour Opposition which has been raging since the 11th Party Congress, has proved that this method is untenable. Even five and a half years ago the Labour Opposition warned the C. C. against "the danger of a complete degeneration of the Party" which showed itself at that time in an embryonic state.

The "C. C. of that time" (which was under the immediate leadership of Lenin, L. B.) replied to this by a party justice persecution of the Opposition. The circumstance that the questions which the Labour Opposition brought up at that time, have not been solved in the least degree, proves that these extraordinary fighting measures were not at all to the purpose. To-day, the majority of the Central Committee is repeating the old methods (i. e. Lenin's methods. L. B.) in its struggle against the new Opposition, methods which "have been used especially energetically in the fight against the Labour Opposition and have driven those who used them (i. e. Lenin. L. B.) into bankruptcy."

The great variety of the social composition of the Party facilitates the penetration of petty bourgeois ideology into the policy of the party. The harmful consequences of this social variety cannot be mitigated unless the non-proletarian elements are refused admission to the Party, unless the non-proletarian nuclei are dissolved and the whole Party cleansed, unless ninety per cent of the party membership is proletarised and the internal regime of the Party changed.

* * *

Comrade Astrov, in the introduction to his controversy with Shliapnikov, points out the lack of restraint with which the writer later on defends his opportunist views against Lenin and tries to "take revenge" on history. Shliapnikov's article cannot but convince all those who read it of the anti-Leninist character of the present Opposition, in whose ranks Shliapnikov is included.

Was it not Lenin whom the declaration of the Labour Opposition, which Shliapnikov is drawing out of the waste-paper basket of history, described as the head of "the united forces of the Party and trade unions" because it was "defending the position"? Lenin's methods of work were described by the Labour Opposition as "a pushing spirit, a spirit of intrigues and of flunkeyism"; the "party justice persecution" of the leaders of the Labour Opposition was indeed carried on under Lenin's lead, and it was Lenin who spoke with all energy for Shliapnikov's exclusion from the Party. This expulsion was only frustrated as a result of the voting in the C. C. In Shliapnikov's opinion, not he himself but Lenin got bankrupt politically in the struggle between himself and Lenin. By represen-

*) Published in the "Pravda" of 22nd November.

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Political Report of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. at the XV. Party Congress.

Full Report of Speech of Comrade Stalin.

I. The Growing Crisis of International Capitalism and the International Position of the Soviet Union.

Our country, comrades, lives and develops amid capitalist surroundings. Its international position depends not only on its internal forces but also on the condition of this capitalist environment, on the situation of the capitalist countries that surround us, on the strength, or weakness, of these capitalist countries and on the strength or weakness of the oppressed classes throughout the world, on the strength or weakness of the revolutionary movement of these classes. I need not even add that our revolution is part of the international revolutionary movement of the oppressed classes. Therefore I believe that the report of the Central Committee ought to begin with an outline of the international position of our country, with a sketch of the conditions in the capitalist countries and of the state of the revolutionary movement in all countries.

The Economy of World Capitalism and the sharpening of the Fight for Foreign Markets.

a) The first question must be as to the state of production and trade in the great capitalist countries.

It is a fundamental fact in this connection, comrades, that the production of the capitalist countries should during the two years here under review have exceeded the pre-war standard considerably. Some figures in point: The index of the cast iron output of the world stood in 1925 at 97.6, and in 1926 at 100.5 per cent. of the pre-war level. For the year 1927 we have no complete returns; there are only returns as to the first half year, which speak of a further increase in cast iron output. The index of steel production in the whole world stood in 1925 at 118.5 per cent., and in 1926 at 122.6 per cent. of the pre-war level. The index of the coal output of the world was 97.9 per cent. in 1925 and 96.8 per cent. (a slight regression) in 1926, obviously due to the lock-out in Great Britain.

The world's consumption of cotton figured in 1925/26 at 108.3, and in 1926/27 at 112.5 per cent. of the pre-war figures. The world's crop in the five grain varieties stood in 1925 at 107.2, in 1926 at 110.5, and in 1927 at 112.3 per cent. of the pre-war level. The total index of the world's production is thus slowly advancing and leaving the pre-war level behind it.

On the other hand there are capitalist countries which advance not with small steps but with leaps and bounds, leaving the pre-war level far behind them, e. g. the United States and in part Japan. In the United States the output of the finishing industries figured in 1925 at 148 per cent. and in 1926 at 152 per cent. of the pre-war average, while that of the raw-material industries was 143 per cent. in 1925 and 154 per cent. in 1926.

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XV. PARTY CONGRESS OF THE C. P. S. U.

Political Report of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. at the XV. Party Congress.

Full Report of Speech of Comrade Stalin.

(CONCLUSION.)

II. The Achievements of Socialist Construction and the Internal Position of the Soviet Union.

Permit me, comrades, now to pass over to the achievements of our Socialist development and to a discussion of the internal position of our country, to the achievements of our socialist construction, to the question of the destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its development and consolidation.

The XIV. Party Congress of our Party instructed the Central Committee to conduct the interests of the development of our national economy in accordance with the following main directives: Firstly, that our policy may promote the progressive growth of production throughout economy; secondly, that the policy of the Party may promote the acceleration of the rate of development in industry and the guarantee of its leading role in economy in general; that in the course of the development of economy an increasingly powerful growth of the specific weight of the Socialist section of economy as opposed to the private and capitalist section be ensured; fourthly, that our entire economic development, the organisation of new branches of industry, and the production of certain classes of raw materials be carried on along such lines as guarantee the general development and economic independence of our country, so that it may not develop into a dependency of the capitalist system of international economy; fifthly, that the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bloc of the working class and the peasantry, and the leadership of the working class within that bloc may all be confirmed; and sixthly, that the material and cultural level of the working class and the village poor may constantly advance.

What has the Central Committee of our Party done in the period under review in fulfilment of the tasks set it by the Party?

I. ECONOMY AS A WHOLE.

The first question refers to the development of economy as a whole. I shall here quote some leading figures in regard to the question of the growth of economy as a whole and of industry and agriculture in particular during the period under consideration. I cull these figures from the well-known calculations of the State Planning Commission in which connection I refer to the returns of that commission for the year 1927/28 and to the draft of the five-year plan.

a) Growth of the production of the entire economy within two years. While in 1924/25, according to the new calculations of the State Planning Commission, the gross output of agriculture had reached 87.3 per cent. of that of pre-war times and the output of the entire industry stood at 63.7 per cent. of the pre-war level, now after the lapse of two years, the output of agriculture is 108.3 per cent., and that of industry 100.9 per cent. of the pre-war returns. In its control-estimates the "Gosplan" for 1927/28 envisages a further rise of the output of agriculture to 111.8 per cent. and of the production of industry to 114.4 per cent. of the pre-war figures.

Growth of the commercial turnovers in the country in the course of two years. If we put the extent of the turnovers in 1924/25 at 100 (14,613 million tchervonetz-roubles), we may see in the year 1926/27 an increase of 97 per cent. (28,775 millions), while for the year 1927/28 a further rise is estimated to 116 per cent. (33,440 millions).

Development of our credit system in two years. If we put the balance figures of all our credit institutes at 100 to represent October 1st, 1925 (5,343 million tchervonetz-roubles), we may see by July 1st, 1927, an increase of 53 per cent. (8175 millions), and there can be no doubt but that the year 1927/28 will show a further rise of our national credit system.

Development of the railway-transport system in two years. If on our entire railway system we had, in the year 1924/25, a freight traffic of 63.1 per cent. of the pre-war total, we now stand for 1926/27, at 99.1 per cent. and shall in the year 1927/28 have reached 111.6 per cent. At the same time it should be pointed out that our railway system has grown in these two years from a total length of 74,400 to one of 76,200 kilometers, which means an increase of 30.3 per cent. over pre-war times and of 8.9 per cent. over 1917.

Growth of the State budget in the course of two years. If the total budget (uniform State budget plus local budgets) for 1925/26 was 72.4 per cent. of the pre-war budget level (i. e. 5,024 million roubles), we are now (1927/28) at 110—112 per cent. (over 7,000 millions), the growth in two years figuring at 41.5 per cent.

Growth of foreign trade in two years. If the total turnover of foreign trade in 1924/25 stood at 1,282 million roubles, or about 27 per cent. of the pre-war figure, we have now, in the year 1926/27, a turnover of 1,483 millions, or 35.6 per cent. of the pre-war level, while the turnover of 1927/28 is estimated at 1,626 millions, or 37.9 per cent. of pre-war. The reasons for the slowing-down in the rate of development of foreign trade are on the one hand the fact that the bourgeois States not infrequently put difficulties in the way of our foreign trade, often amounting to a veiled blockade, and on the other hand the circumstance that we cannot do business according to the bourgeois formula "Let us export even if we have not satisfied our home requirements". An asset in this connection is the favourable foreign trade balance of 57 million roubles for 1926/27, the first year since 1923/24 to show a surplus in the foreign trade balance.

As a total result, we have the following aspect of the general growth of our national income in the course of two years: If we put the national income of the Soviet Union in 1924/25 at 15,589 million tchervonetz-roubles, the year 1925/26 shows a total of 20,253 millions, or an increase of 29.9 per cent., and the following year one of 22,560 millions, or an increase for that one year of 11.4 per cent. According to the control-estimates of the "Gosplan", we figure for 1927/28 at 24,208 millions, or a further growth of 7.3 per cent.

If we take into account that the average yearly growth of the total national income of the United States of America does not exceed 3—4 per cent. (only once, in the eighties of the last century, had the United States a growth of 7 per cent. of their national income), while the yearly growth of the national incomes of other States, e. g. Germany or Great Britain, is no greater than 1—3 per cent., it must be recognised that the growth of the national income in the Soviet Union during the last few years may be looked upon as a record achievement in comparison with the great capitalist countries of Europe and America.

XV. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U. (Pages 1671 to 1702)

English Edition. Unpublished Manuscripts — Please reprint.

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Results of the XV. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U.

(Leading article of the "Prayda" of 20th December, 1927.)

The XV. Party Congress has done its work and has made firm and weighty decisions. There is no doubt whatever that the decisions of this Congress will constitute in the history of the Party and of proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R. an important stage of the Communist Labour Movement. The fact alone that the Congress met at a time when, on the one hand, international struggle was very acute and, on the other hand, the "reconstructive process" was rapidly developing, puts a special imprint on the whole work of this great Communist parliament.

First of all, the Congress summed up the prolonged struggle between the Leninist Party and **Trotzkyism**. Trotzkyism was always more or less an alien body in our Party. When Lenin's genius and iron hand were no longer there to lead the Party, Trotzkyist attacks increased. Ideologically, as well as organisationally, Trotzkyism began to multiply its attacks, selecting and assimilating a number of oppositional groupings which had begun to doubt the correctness of the Lenin-path and which had given way to the croakings and prophecies concerning the inevitable downfall of our revolution. The differentiation of Trotzkyism, which was developing more and more its specific peculiarities and was being rapidly converted into Menshevism, finally played havoc with Party and Soviet law and order. Trotzkyites began to act openly as instruments of petty bourgeois democracy, up in arms, against the iron regime of proletarian dictatorship.

The Opposition has been beaten in the Party, the working class and the country. Demoralised ideologically, again divided into factions, without faith in its own cause, without even a vestige of sympathy on the part of the masses, it stands before the eyes of the world a powerless and bankrupt group of captains without ships and without crews. At the same time the dialectics of development have once more isolated Trotzkyism already at a higher stage of the whole development. The decisions of the Congress sum up definitely this development. The Party has purged itself of a disease which was calling forth continual crises, was impeding constructive work, undermining the international position of the Soviet Union and was bringing confusion into the ranks of the Communist International.

But in spite of the importance of the question of the Opposition (and not only from the viewpoint of relations within the Party) it was not the only and the most important question at the Congress.

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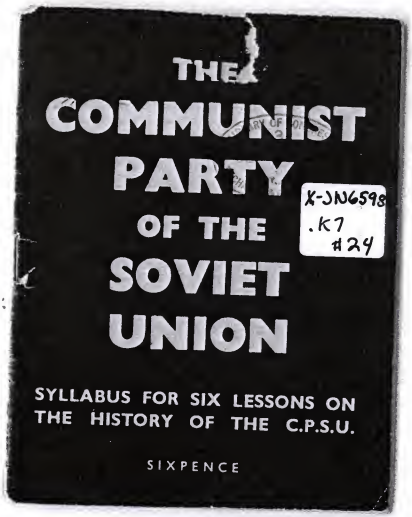

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DAS GROSSE PROGRAMM DES KAMPFES UND DES SIEGES

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COMPTE RENDU DES TRAVAUX

du 19e CONGRÈS

du Parti Communiste de l'Union Soviétique

le 29 octobre 1952 à la Mutualité

AUGUSTE LECŒUR

Secrétaire du Parti Communiste Français

VERS LES PORTES DE L'AVENIR...

DES PHARES PUISSANTS
QUI ÉCLAIRENT LA ROUTE
DE LA PAIX, DE LA DÉMOCRATIE
ET DU SOCIALISME

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Josef Wissarionowitsch Stalin sprach auf dem XIX. Parteitag der KPdSU

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Moskau (ADN). *Genosse Stalin hielt in der Schlußsitzung des XIX. Parteitages der KPdSU am Dienstag, dem 14. Oktober, eine Rede.*

Als Genosse Stalin an das Rednerpult tritt, wird er von den Delegierten mit stürmischem, lang anhaltendem Beifall begrüßt, der in eine Ovation übergeht. Alle erheben sich von den Plätzen. Es erschallen Rufe: „Dem Genossen Stalin — Hurra!", „Es lebe Genosse Stalin!", „Ruhm dem großen Stalin!"

Die Rede Stalins hat folgenden Wortlaut:

I.

Genossen!

Gestatten Sie mir, im Namen unseres Parteitages allen Bruderparteien und -Gruppen, deren Vertreter unseren Parteitag durch ihre Anwesenheit geehrt, oder die dem Parteitag Grußbotschaften gesandt haben, für die freundschaftlichen Grüße für die Wünsche weiterer Erfolge für das Vertrauen den Dank auszusprechen. (Stürmischer, anhaltender Beifall, der in eine Ovation übergeht.) Für uns ist dieses Vertrauen besonders wertvoll, das die Bereitschaft bedeutet, unsere Partei in ihrem Kampf für die lichte Zukunft der Völker, in ihrem Kampf gegen den Krieg, in ihrem Kampf für die Erhaltung des Friedens zu unterstützen. (Stürmischer, anhaltender Beifall.)

Es wäre ein Irrtum zu glauben, daß unsere Partei, die zu einer mächtigen Kraft geworden ist, keiner Unterstützung mehr bedarf — das wäre falsch. Unsere Partei und unser Land brauchen stets das Vertrauen, die Sympathie und die Unterstützung der Brudervölker jenseits der Grenzen unseres Landes und werden sie immer brauchen. Die Besonderheit dieser Unterstützung besteht darin, daß jede Unterstützung der friedliebenden Bestrebungen unserer Partei seitens einer jeglichen Bruderpartei gleichzeitig die Unterstützung ihres eigenen Volkes in seinem Kampf für die Erhaltung des Friedens bedeutet. Als die englischen Arbeiter in den Jahren 1918/1919, zur Zeit des bewaffneten Überfalls der englischen Bourgeoisie auf die Sowjetunion, unter der Losung „Hände weg von Rußland" den Kampf gegen den Krieg organisierten, war das eine Unterstützung, vor allem eine Unterstützung des Kampfes ihres eigenen Volkes für den Frieden und dann auch eine Unterstützung der Sowjetunion. Wenn Genosse Thorez oder Genosse Togliatti erklären, daß ihre Völker keinen Krieg gegen die Völker der Sowjetunion führen werden (stürmischer Beifall), so ist das eine Unterstützung, vor allem eine Unterstützung der für den Frieden kämpfenden Arbeiter und Bauern Frankreichs und Italiens, und dann auch eine Unterstützung der friedliebenden Bestrebungen der Sowjetunion. Diese Besonderheit der gegenseitigen Unterstützung ergibt sich daraus, daß die Interessen unserer Partei nicht nur den Interessen der friedliebenden Völker

J. W. STALIN

nicht widersprechen, sondern im Gegenteil mit ihnen verschmelzen. (Stürmischer Beifall.) Was die Sowjetunion anbetrifft, so sind ihre Interessen von der Sache des Friedens in der ganzen Welt überhaupt nicht zu trennen.

Es ist klar, daß unsere Partei den Bruderparteien gegenüber ihre Schuldigkeit tun und ihrerseits sie und ihre Völker in ihrem Kampf um die Befreiung, in ihrem Kampf für die Erhaltung des Friedens unterstützen muß. Gerade das tut sie bekanntlich auch. (Stürmischer Beifall.) Nach der Ergreifung der Macht durch unsere Partei im Jahre 1917 und nachdem unsere Partei reale Maßnahmen zur Liquidierung des Joches der Kapitalisten und Gutsbesitzer getroffen hatte, gaben ihr die Vertreter der Bruderparteien, begeistert von der Kühnheit und den Erfolgen unserer Partei, den Namen „Stoßbrigade" der revolutionären Bewegung und der Arbeiterbewegung der Welt. Damit gaben sie der Hoffnung Ausdruck, daß die Erfolge der „Stoßbrigade" die Lage der unter dem Joch des Kapitalismus schmachtenden Völker erleichtern würden. Ich denke, daß unsere Partei diese Hoffnungen gerechtfertigt hat, besonders in der Zeit des zweiten

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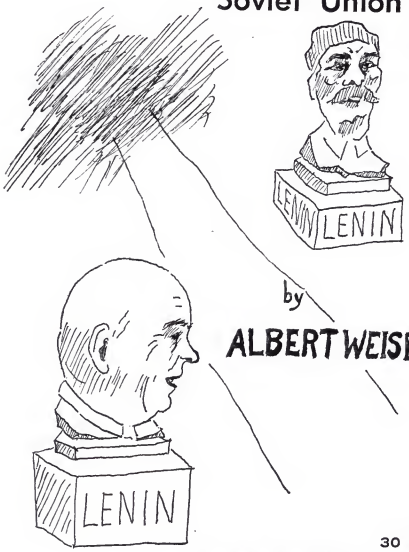

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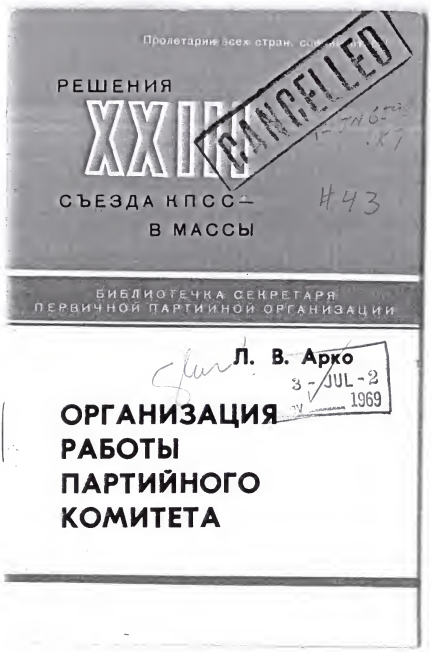

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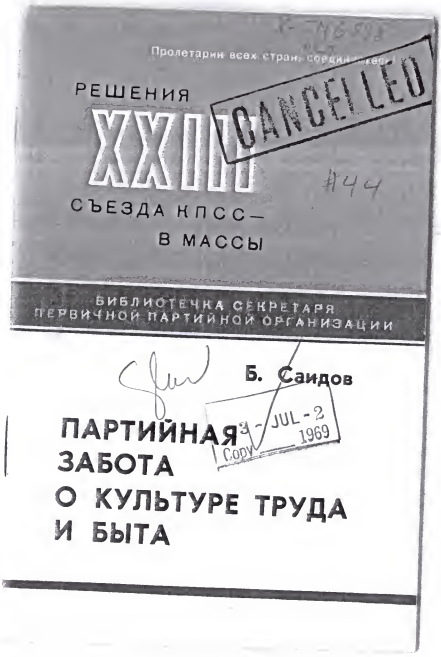

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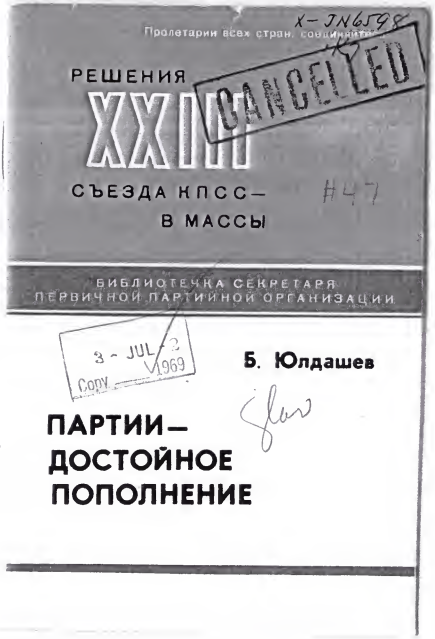
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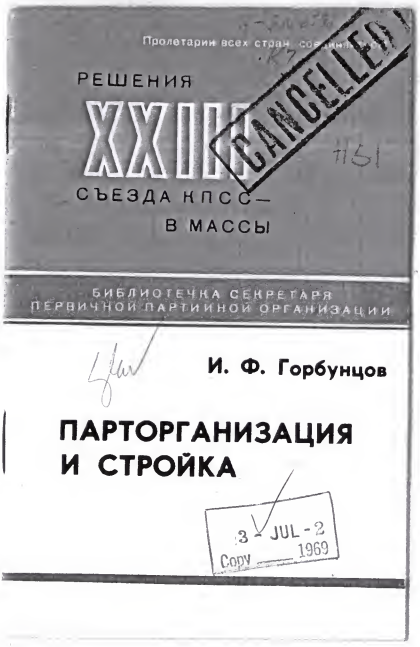

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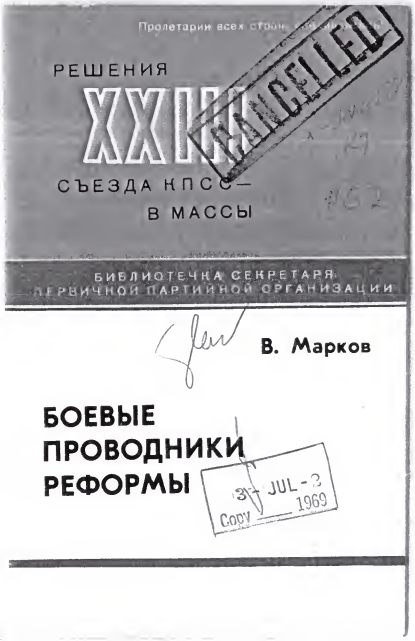

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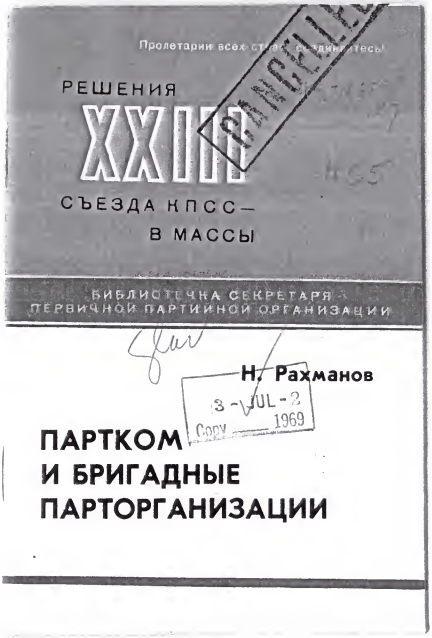
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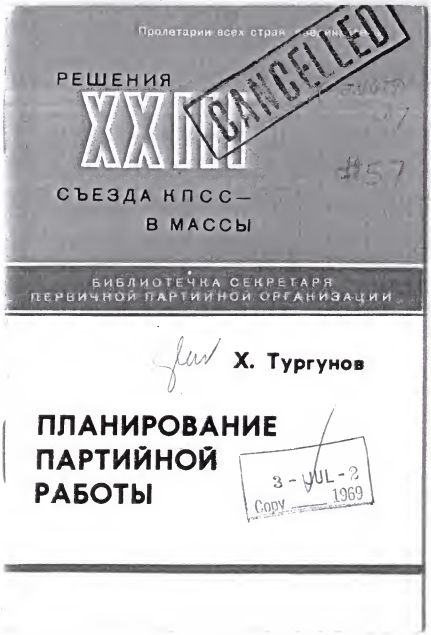

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ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Statutes of the Party

I. Introduction

Significance of the Party Statutes

The program of the Party indicates the general aims and lays down the theoretical groundwork of these aims. On the other hand, the Party statutes define the methods of the Party's practical activities, the organizational forms of the Party's structure and the rules of its internal life. In his book "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward", Lenin thus described the meaning of the Statutes: "Unity in questions of program and in questions of tactics is a necessary, but far from adequate condition for the unification of the Party, and for the centralization of its work... The latter a also necessitates unity of organization, which is unthinkable in a Party after it has grown beyond the stage of a limited family circle, without a definite statute book and without the submission of the minority to the majority." In the same book, in his rejoining to Martov who argued that the Party could work without statues, Lenin wrote:"Why were no statutes formerly required? Because the Party consisted of separate groups which were not interconnected by any organizational ties; any individual member could at will transfer from one group to another, since he was not bound by any formal expression of opinion by the organization as a whole, and the controversial questions within the various groups were settled not by the Statutes, but by quarreling and by threats of resignation." In Statutes Comrade Lenin saw the guarantee against "group stubbornness, group caprices and group methods of wrangling known as "the free process of intellectual debate!", or in other words, a guarantee against the disintegration and decomposition of the Party. Petty-bourgeois elements will often accept a program which outlines remote ultimate aims, but will not always agree or be able to submit to a uniform system, to a uniform discipline, i.e., to submit to the decision of the majority as the statutes stipulate. We know from the past history of our Party that at the Second Congress the program was adopted almost unanimously; the future Mensheviks accepted "in principle" the proletarian dictatorship as well as the fight for socialism and the rest. But at the very same Congress, when the question of the Statutes came up for discussion, the Congress split into two almost equal parts. On questionsof the Statutes, i.e. on questions of the practical structure of the Party, the Mensheviks revealed their own petty-bourgeois nature, or as Lenin put it: "To folks whoh are used to morning gowns and slippers, to a family life of sensuous indolence, formal statutes seem something repressive and narrow, burdensome, and base, beaurocractic and feudalistic, restraining the free process of intellectual debate."

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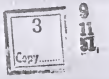

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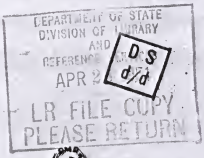

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